with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The interaction of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the policican importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headman, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) or *pacho* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries.

According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original *won dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside so many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death.

INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ci liend*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*.

MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given; in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2)

1. The *dho keny*: the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* XX, 1950, p.141. (2) *Ibid.*, p.139.

585 may incur while cooking; *gir ote*, an ornament for the errands the husband will send his wife on; *gir ngolo olawo*, an ornament for cleaning up the spittle her husband will 431 always be expectorating on the floor; *gir logo*, a present for the water a wife brings her husband to wash his hands with; *gir teno wic*, a present to enable the husband to sleep with his head on his wife's arm; *gir tingo kom*, a present for fetching her husband's stool; *diend then*, a goat to enable her to cook in her husband's home; and perhaps others. These gifts are made to the wife by her *yuro*, the paternal kinsfolk of her husband, particularly by his brothers. Each gift must be named when it is presented to her. The wife herself keeps none of these gifts. They are taken by the girls of the *riso* party and others of her kinswomen.

Next morning the husband chaffs his sisters-in-law, asking them where they have spent the night. They reply: ' You are bad people and you have done us an injury. You are enemies, you and your wife also.' The girls have a midday meal and leave for home taking with them the *riso* gifts and the remainder of the meat. To the south of the gulf the husband's people send the meat to the bride's home before the ceremony, except for the portion they keep for the girls of her home who attend it.

Sepo

585 After the *riso* the wife remains with her husband. She may visit her parents after two or three months, but she does not constantly return to them as before. Likewise, 591 her husband's people cannot now seize her when they see her at a public gathering, for she is now a *dhako*, wife, and not a *miaha*, bride. A few months later takes place the final ceremony of marriage, the *sepo*, called *gango* in Southern Luoland. One day the husband says to his wife that he wants her to cook for him instead of cooking in the hut of his mother, which up to this time she has used for the purpose, she and her husband making the *simba* their dwelling-place. The younger brothers of the husband have in the meanwhile built themselves a new *simba*. Now the husband—usually after the birth of his first child—begins to build an *ot*, a proper dwelling-hut. The wife goes back to her parents to tell them that her husband wants her to do her cooking in her own hut. They raise no objection. The husband's father also gives his consent.

585 The wife returns once more to her parents to collect household utensils with which to start a home of her own. They give her pots, gourds, a wooden spoon, and other utensils. If they are rich they also give her an ox, if poor a sheep or a goat and some fowls and flour. Only a few girls accompany her to her husband's home to help her carry these things. When they arrive there her husband's brother's wife brings three cooking-stones and calling the wife tells her that she wants to teach her how to cook. She goes through the usual actions preliminary to cooking a meal and when all is prepared the wife cooks it and serves it to her kinswomen who have accompanied her. Sometimes they have brought a sheep or goat with them from the wife's home so that she can serve them with meat.

Miloha

583 The marriage has been successfully brought about by the succession of ceremonial stages described. Had sufficient cattle not been paid the parents of the wife would not have permitted the rites to proceed to a conclusion. There seem to be several words for bridewealth among the Luo: *miloha*, *dho nyuombo*, and *dho keny*. The number of

585 bride. It is a curious fact that only young men (*yanyuoye* = bachelors)
[184] may eat this part of the animal. The elders told me that in Gem, Alego, Seme, Ugoma, Asembo, Kadimu and Ugenya the breast is set aside to be eaten in the early morning by the friends of the bridegroom. But in Kano, Kisumu, Nyakach, and Kabondo it is used as I have described.

One fore-leg and one hind-leg were sent to the parents of the bride, and two small pieces of the liver were also allotted to them. The rest of the liver was eaten by the older men living in the *dala*, and the lungs, heart, and stomach were divided and disposed of in the same way as the liver. The thick part of the stomach was also the perquisite of the older men, who also ate the contents of the small intestine mixed with blood and used as a relish. This concoction was called *kichuri* and was highly esteemed. Half of it was sent to the
[184] bride's father. Here again there was a difference between the customs of Alego, Gem, Seme, Ugoma, Sakwa, Kadimu, and Ugenya on the one hand, and those of Kisumu, Kano, Nyakach, and Kabondo on the other. For in the former districts *kichuri* was eaten by men and women, whereas in the latter districts only the men were allowed to eat it. This difference may well provide an interesting clue to the past history of these two divisions.

The hump was divided into two parts, one being sent to the bride's parents, and the other half being eaten by the parents of the bridegroom. The ribs and loins were the portion of the women
[262 guests, who were also allotted the kidney and the pancreas which men
753] are forbidden to eat, for fear of contracting the disease known as *hydrocele*. Women with child may not eat these portions in case the child is a boy.

585 After the *kirisya* was over the girl was regarded as having finally passed into the fully married state. But even so there were still
●591 certain ceremonies which had to be observed before she could take up her residence in her own hut, specially built for her by her husband and there assume the normal duties of a married woman.

The building of this hut was never begun until the wedding feast was over. While it was being constructed the girl slept first in the *simba* hut, and later in her mother-in-law's hut; and before it was finished the girl returned to her own home for a short visit, taking with her that part of the dried fore-leg of the bull (*bad jachien*) which had been set aside for her mother at the wedding feast, as well as
585 other presents of food. It was explained to me that these gifts were
[431] in the nature of a compensation to the mother for her absence from her daughter's wedding feast, and they may indicate that in earlier times it was the custom for the mother to accompany her daughter on that occasion. While the girl was at home the mother prepared a

large quantity of beer, even as much as nine or ten pots full, and when the girl returned to her husband's *dala*, not only this beer, but also a goat or a sheep, or perhaps a large quantity of fish was sent with her as a present for her husband's parents. 585

On her return a ceremony known as the *rayue dipo* took place. It was also known as the *wen dipo*. *Rayue* is the name of a plant, and it is also the name for a broom or brush. *Dipo* is the open space in the middle of the *dala*. *Wen* means the stomach contents of an animal. All these elements enter into the ceremony, which consisted of the following events. The father-in-law killed a bull and one of the front legs provided a feast for the family; the hindquarters and the other front leg were set aside to dry, but the stomach contents were strewn over the *dipo* and left there until the evening. Meanwhile the father-in-law made a brush of *rayue* which he gave to the girl, and with this broom at dusk, she swept the *wen* into a heap, afterwards laying hot ashes over it to burn it up. In the morning the ash heap was scattered to the wind. When the dried meat was ready the girl was sent with it to her old home where she presented it to her parents. She then went back to her husband and was allowed to carry out two duties hitherto forbidden her. These were the tending of the fire in her mother-in-law's hut, and the preparation of food for her father-in-law. This indicated that she was at last a full member of her husband's family and so might render services that only a member of the family was allowed to perform.

After the *rayue dipo* she lived in her mother-in-law's hut until her own hut was ready. The framework was built by her husband, and he was expected to thatch the roof himself, but his brothers helped him to prepare the mud for the walls and in building them up. When the hut was finished the girl again visited her parents and brought back with her a ram or a billy goat which was killed to provide a feast to reward the labours of her husband's brothers. Even then, however, the bride might not live independently in her own hut. She was expected to spend the day with her mother-in-law, doing all the laborious parts of the house work and generally holding herself at the beck and call of the older woman. This arrangement normally continued only until the birth of a child, but if the two women got on well together it might endure until a second child was born, when it invariably came to an end. On the other hand if one of the husband's full brothers married the younger woman was immediately relieved of her duties to her mother-in-law by the new bride. Failing both this avenue of escape and the birth of a second child she continued in her mother-in-law's service until her husband could afford to take a second wife, when her duties again would devolve upon the new-comer. It is often a cause for wonder to those who are unacquainted with the details of native life and custom, that in poly- 591 593 591 606 595 606

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

582
There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man [595]
may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom
he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young 836
woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only 883
careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried
women have their own quarters in a village and the young
men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse
than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however,
from another village pay visits to the young women during
the day and make love to them, and in the evening the
women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with
them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene
character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is
not stopped nor discountenanced by the elder people, as it is
a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such [848]
relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed.
When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses 584
a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to
the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the
amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents
consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been 585
paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the
young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during
this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house
where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part
in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents
give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast
the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in
turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter.
The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to
obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee.
During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband [837]
to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to
live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as
before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride
claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste.
The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's 591
village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

When A MAN MARRIES
591 a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married
586 women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

842 A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her
595 parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

291 **Distinctive dress of married women.** Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time,
[765] but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies
304 her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a
352 clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the
852 food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

Birth customs. A wife who expects her confinement calls
844 in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house
846 in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migosi)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

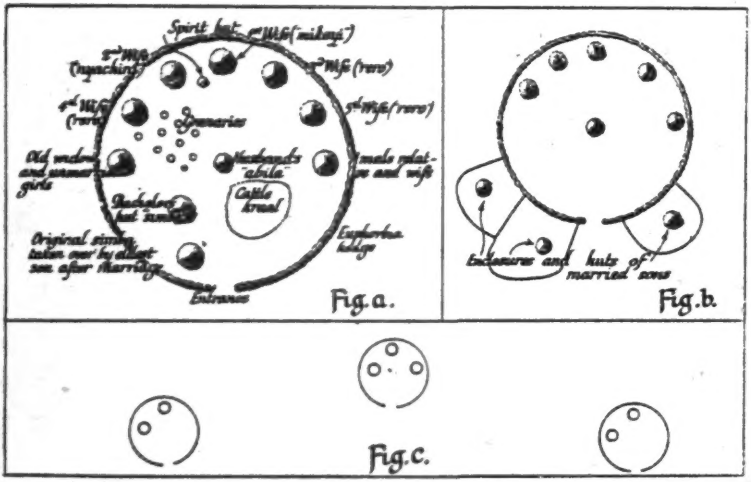
17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

and in a number of other sociological contexts, suggests that its primary meaning is that of owner.[1] The title of the first wife is *mikayi*, that of the second *nyachira*, and of all subsequent wives *rero*.

The diagrams below show the plan of the homestead at typical phases of the family cycle. The fuller details of Fig. *a* are omitted from the other figures. Taking the compound polygynous family as described above as an arbitrary point of departure, the cycle might be charted thus:

PHASE 1. The compound polygynous family of husband, wives, and immature offspring.

2. The eldest son matures, marries, and at first lives with his wife in the original bachelors' hut (*simbu*) while his younger brothers build a new one next to it. (Fig. *a*).



3. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead hedge. His younger brothers marry and follow suit. Offspring are born to them, bringing into existence the compound polygynous grand family. (Fig. *b*.)

4. The sons marry subsidiary wives, gradually splitting off from the original homestead to form separate ones of their own. The head of the original homestead eventually dies, his widows are taken over by their stepsons or brothers-in-law, and the old homestead is in course of time deserted. There is now an extended family, with the eldest or ablest of the dead man's sons as head, the sons' homesteads now each having reached phase 1 of the cycle. (Fig. *c*.)

The head of the compound family is, of course, a member of each of its component elementary families, but the fact that he is common to them all gives each a certain independence in relation to him as well as to one another. The elementary family

[1] It is the possessive form of *nam* which has the meanings 'owner', 'father', 'greediness'.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

minimal status to operate as superordinate of the newly formed segments. The process is an extension on a larger scale, of that which begins whenever married sons leave their father's homestead and form separate ones of their own. Custom sets limits to the period within which this occurs. A son cannot leave his father's homestead and form one of his own till he himself has a son able to 'carry the axe' in the ritual of opening a new homestead. On the other hand, a son is not supposed to stay on in his father's homestead after he has a daughter who is nubile. When this occurs while he still has no son, he must move to the homsetead of one of his father's brothers or other agnatic relative. If his father dies before he has been able to establish his own homestead he must then sacrifice to his father before doing so. Within these limits the splitting apart of married sons from their father's homestead will depend on their relations with one another, their character and ambition, the contrary pulls of allegiance to a common father matched by the jealousy of sons of different mothers, and the rivalries between brothers matched by the need to unite in competiton with other sibling groups. These human relations will always be further pointed by the need of every family for its own building, arable, and grazing land. When a family segments it may be able simply to divide its land correspondingly to satisfy all the segments, or else the latter must collectively occupy a larger area than before. Similarly, when a *gweng'* splits into several new *gwenge* it may simply divide its territory or have to occupy more at the same time. The net result of all these integrative and disintegrative forces is worked out within the framework determined by the Luo adherence to an agnatic basis of social grouping. Throughout, the behaviour of segments is largely a repetition on the group plane of certain attitudes of individuals within the family, the people themselves regarding the lineage system as a magnified reflection of the family process. Both are, of course, the product of human biological growth and reproduction interacting with a particular set of values expressed within a limiting physical environment. It is therefore misleading to represent them only by a formal analysis which omits intrinsic causes of variation.

Given the structure of the Luo family as earlier described, if a man marries several women and begets sons who repeat the process, the result is bound to be the multiplication of homesteads. To the extent that the families of a whole settlement act in this way, the result is bound to be the multiplication of settlements. Conversely, if families fail to multiply, homesteads either disappear or are merely replaced, and the membership of a settlement is also merely replaced, with no change of structure except an increase in genealogical depth. The rivalry noted between individuals and groups within the family is repeated on a larger scale in the natural divergence of interests and weakening of sentiments of solidarity between different *anyuola* segments. Complementary to this general weakening of bonds which predisposes fission must be the appearance of initiative in some individual suitably placed to lead his group in the establishment of a new settlement. This positive factor is the necessary precipitating agent of the process in which the new *dhoudi* of the primary settlements are formed. The size of each co-ordinate resulting from the fission of a superordinate segment must be adequate in adult male membership to support the responsibilities of a separate settlement.

Finally, there must be adequate land available in which the new *gwenge* can be

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

VI

MARRIED LIFE

With the exception of those women who move with their husbands to the towns, the majority of rural married women go through a period of living under the close supervision of their mothers-in-law. The duration of this time depends on the mutual feeling between wife and mother-in-law.

The married woman must learn everything possible about her new family. The mother-in-law tells her about the various sources of food and assists her to fit into her new life in the manner desired. Very often this involves unlearning certain things she has learnt at home. Among other things, she must learn the meal hours and individual tastes of those in the new family, and this brief probationary period gives character to her future relationship with them. At this time a mean woman is soon known by her behaviour; moreover, in the earlier stages of her married life a young wife is constantly accompanied by a companion who reports her general attitude to the family.

Other women in the home may also send her on errands wherever they wish, the idea being to test her character in the communal life of women. Hence unpopularity would have a profound effect upon her, and through her, upon her husband. But although she is under the authority of her mother-in-law or someone occupying the same position, her mother-in-law's actions are also open to censure by the other women. The problem of fitting a wife into this new life is thus a family affair.

Great importance is still attached to the traditional

[text continues on p. 53]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

IV

After Mr. Onyango had spoken, others said their piece, and I asked the opinions of some of the women, who will never speak unless they are directly asked. One replied, through an interpreter, in these words:

'I was against consolidation. My own land was fertile and I did not want to lose it and have other land not as good as mine. I tried to persuade my husband. We had many arguments, and the peace of our house was destroyed. At last I saw that I must give in if our home was to become peaceful again. We exchanged gardens, and then I saw that the new gardens were as fertile as my own. Now the men are helping women on the land and this is something that has never happened before. Men and women are working together. This is because the men see that there is money in growing crops and that bigger crops will make them rich.'

A second woman—both were middle-aged—spoke after her.

'I was not of that opinion. I wanted consolidation before it came here. If you have land near your home, you can work to improve it. If it is a long way off, you cannot put on manure. I understood the value of manure by seeing crops grown by the Better Farmers. Before, I had four *shambas* and one was over a mile away. Now they are all together and near my home. There is only one difficulty. Our custom is, when a son gets married, he leaves his father's *shamba* to start one of his own. I do not want to break this custom, but now I have a married son and there is nowhere for him to go.'

And a third woman, rather older, added her piece.

'I was in favour of consolidation too. The boundaries of land have caused many disputes and quarrels amongst us. When there are fixed boundaries, these quarrels fade away. So I wanted consolidation before it came, and my husband agreed. Now I can farm properly and put manure on the *shamba*; we have a shed for the cattle to stay in at night. Besides that, my husband employs two men. When he goes away I supervise them and the work is not so hard. Men and women never worked together before. Now they do, and this is a big Thing.'